

NTC (Hitz's pkg.)
3673

December 29, 1978

Note to Sayre Stevens:

Subject: Khomeini Arabic Text

Sayre:

Attached is the Khomeini text in Arabic about which I spoke to you in the staff meeting. I received it from Richard Perle who acquired it from [redacted] Certain of the juiciest passages have been translated and passed by Perle to interested journalists.

It was Perle's thought that we might be interested in translating the manuscript for possible dissemination as a revelation of Khomeini's true thinking. I pass it to you for whatever use you can make of it. It sounds to me that events may be occurring so rapidly in Iran that it is OBE.

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[redacted]

Frederick P. Hitz

Attachments

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Ayatollah Khomeini is the leading figure in the religious opposition to the current Iranian government. He is a faqih, a specialist in Islamic religious law, which in Iran has largely been replaced by a secular civil code. Khomeini's vision of the new political order he desires for Iran and the dangers facing it are spelled out in his book, Islamic Government published in Arabic in Iraq in 1968. Following are excerpts from this book:

On the Conspiracy Against Islam

"Today, at a time when imperialism and its agents among the traitorous rulers together with Zionism and atheistic materialism are joining forces to pervert and mutilate Islam, our responsibility is greater than at any time in the past. Before us we see the Jews making a mockery of the Koran, and distorting its text in the new editions printed in the occupied lands and elsewhere. It is our duty to reveal this teachery and to shout at the top of our voices until people understand that the Jews and their foreign masters are plotting against Islam and are preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet. I greatly fear that, by their own special methods, they will indeed realize their desired aims. It is because of our own weakness that we may wake up one morning and find a Jewish ruler dominating our country - God forbid!In Teheran, Christian, Zionist and Bahai missionary centers issue their publications in order to mislead people and to alienate them from the teachings and principles of religion. Is it not our duty to demolish these centers?" (pages 120-21)

On the Jews

"From its very inception, Islam has been afflicted by the Jews. (From the beginning), they launched their hostile activity by distorting the good name of Islam, by slandering it and by spreading lies against it - an activity which continues unto this very day." (page 7)

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"In our day..., the government, authority and management over the people, as well as the collection and expenditure of revenues has been entrusted to the religious experts. Verily, God will punish and call to account anyone who takes issue with their authority." (page 80)

On Islamic Government

"Government in Islam is not absolutist. It is, in fact, constitutional; not, however, in the commonly understood sense of constitutionalism as represented in a parliamentary system, or in a system of popular assemblies. It is, rather, constitutional in the sense that those in power are bound by a group of conditions and principles made clear in the Koran and by the example of the Prophet Muhammad. ... Thus, Islamic government is a government of divine law. The difference between Islamic government and constitutional government - whether monarchical or republican - lies in the fact that in the latter system, it is the representatives of the people or those of the king who legislate and make laws. Whereas, the actual authority to legislate belongs exclusively to God. No others, no matter who they may be, have the right to legislate, nor has any person the right to govern on any basis other than the authority which has been conferred by God." (pages 41-42)

Who Should Rule

"Since Islamic government is a government of law, it is the religious expert (faqih) and no one else - who should occupy himself with the affairs of government. It is he who should function in all those areas in which the Prophet (Muhammad himself) functioned - neither adding nor diminishing from these in the slightest degree. He should implement the canonical punishments, just as the Prophet did, and he should rule according to God's revelation." (page 70)

On Canonical Punishments

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"They (i.e., the Islamic reformers) cry: 'Woe to Islam', when it decrees eighty lashes as a punishment for the wine-drinker, or one hundred lashes for the fornicator of ill-repute, or when Islam requires the stoning to death of a male or female fornicator of previously chaste reputation. Oh how these (reformers) scream: 'These are harsh and crude rules derived from the crudeness of the Arabs.' While in fact, the rules for criminal punishments in Islam came into being to prevent obscenity and undesirable, immoral behavior among a great and far-flung people." (page 15)

On Democracy

"....There is no room for opinions or feelings in the system of Islamic government; rather the Prophet and the Imams and the people all follow the wish of God and his laws." (page 43)

No one who believes in God and the Day of Judgment can say that there is no obligation to defend the borders of the fatherland or that it is permissible to refrain from paying the canonical taxes; nor can he advocate the abrogation of the canonical penal laws of Islam, nor seek to put an end to the exacting of retaliation and blood money. (p. 26)

This much is certain: "The religious experts (faqih) are rulers over kings." If the monarchs have some part of religious sentiment, then all they have to do in their acts and decrees is to act on behalf of the religious experts, since the true rulers are the religious experts, and the monarchs are merely their agents. (p. 46)

Compliance with the qualifications of the canonical ruler (i.e. in accordance with Islamic law) is still required if he is to be deemed worthy to rule. These qualifications--consisting of knowledge of the law and rectitude--exist in the majority of our religious experts in this age. If they were to make common cause, they could easily devise and create an incomparably just ulema government.

The governance of the religious expert

If and when a learned and just religious expert undertakes to form a government, then he has the same jurisdiction in the affairs of the community as the Prophet had, and it is incumbent upon the people to heed and obey him.

This ruler will have the same powers to administer, care for and govern the people as were held by the Prophet and the Commander of the Faithful Ali, except for those excellencies and qualities which were special to them as Prophet and Imam respectively. (pp. 48-49)

If a just and religious expert is placed in charge of the enforcement of the canonical punishments, as one competent to do so, would he enforce them otherwise than how they were enforced in the days of the Prophet...? Would the Prophet have imposed more than a hundred lashes on the fornicator not previously chaste? Can the religious expert reduce the amount of this punishment, thereby creating a divergence between his practice and that of the Prophet? Most certainly not! The ruler--be he Prophet or Imam or righteous religious expert--is no more than the executor of God's command and decree. (pp. 50-51).

We want a ruler who would cut off the hand of his own son if he steals, and would flog and stone his near relative if he fornicates. (p. 124)